1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions, both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use; the former denoting that which is *good*, as peace, friendship, good will &c., the latter the reverse; yet occasionally the black also is made use of on peace errands, when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or any thing which changes the colour from black to white. The pipe of peace, being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions.

Roads from one friendly nation to another, are generally marked on the belt, by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black, and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other.

A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation together with a twist or roll of tobacco, is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If however they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened, that war messengers endeavoured to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt, by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them, as if he threw a snake or toad out of his way.

Although at their councils they do not seat themselves after the manner of the white people, yet the attitude they place themselves in is not chargeable to them as a want of respect. Faithful to the trust committed to them, they are careless of ceremonies, from which the

a [erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
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duct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.

CHAPTER XIX.

WARS AND THE CAUSES WHICH LEAD TO THEM.

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IT is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend, and, therefore, that whoever wrongs or does harm to another, is his ENEMY. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations, tribes and other independent associations of men. If they commit murder on another people, encroach on their lands, by making it a practice to come within their bounds and take the game from them, if they rob or steal from their hunting camps, or, in short, are guilty of any act of unjust aggression, they cannot be considered otherwise than as ENEMIES; they are declared to be such, and the aggrieved nation think themselves justifiable in punishing them. If murder has been perpetrated, revenge is taken in the same way. If a lesser injury has been done, a message is sent to the chief of the nation to which the wrong-doers belong, to enquire whether the act complained of was authorised, if not to give them warning not to permit the like thing to be done again. If theft or some other like offence has been committed, restitution is at the same time demanded, or such reparation as the case admits of, and the chiefs are de-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

aired to forbid their "young people" to do so any more, or that they will have to abide by the consequence.

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There are tribes among the Indians, who claim the exclusive right of hunting within certain bounds, and will not suffer others to intrude and take *their* game from them, as they call it; and there have been instances, when such intruders, being found trespassing after a fair warning, have had their ears and noses cut off, and have been sent home to tell their chiefs that the next time they came again, they should be sent home *without their scalps*. While the Christian Indians of the Lenape nation were settled for a few years on the land of the Chippeways beyond Detroit, where they had taken refuge and were permitted to remain for their safety; though the Chippeways professed reverence for them, and called them *Grandfather*, yet they were continually complaining of their killing their game. They had no objection to their tilling the ground, but every deer, racoon, or other animal which they killed or took, was a cause of displeasure to their hosts; and in consequence of that, they pressed them so often to remove from their lands, that they at last went off.

When the Indians have determined to take revenge for a murder committed by another nation, they generally endeavour to make at once a bold stroke, so as to strike their enemies with terror; for which purpose, they penetrate into the hostile country as far as they can without being discovered, and when they have made their stroke, they leave a war club near the body of the person murdered, and make off as quick as possible. This war club is purposely left that the enemy may know to what nation the act is to be ascribed, and that they may not wreak their vengeance on an innocent tribe. It is meant also to let them know that unless they take measures to discover and punish the author of the original aggression, this instrument will be the means of revenging the injury, or, in other words, war will be forthwith declared against them.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

lieved them to be celestial beings, began a solemn dance, in order to propitiate them. It is not uncommon for men who are deprived of the light of revealed religion, to believe that the divinity will be pleased with the same things from which they themselves receive pleasure. 535 782

It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus; first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude each song with a loud yell, which I must confess is not in concord with the rest of the music; it is not unlike the cat-bird which closes its pretty song with mewing like a cat. I do not admire this *finale*. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct. 535 533 [534]

Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object, on the contrary, is to strike terror in the beholders. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint, in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand, and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room or place 535 721.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

enclosed or surrounded with posts, and roofed with the bark of trees; sometimes also this dance is executed in the open air. There every man presents himself in warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the painted post, as if it was the enemy whom he is about to engage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pretends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, endeavours to shew what he would do to a real enemy, if he had him in his power.

It was an ancient custom among the Indians to perform this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced, to make him undergo every kind of torture, previous to putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at his executioner, as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments: strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without a sufficient motive. The object of the unfortunate sufferer was to rouse his relentless tormenters to such a pitch of fury, that some of them might, at an unguarded moment, give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his pain.

Previous to going out on a warlike campaign, the war-dance is always performed round the painted post. It is the Indian mode of recruiting. Whoever joins in the dance is considered as having enlisted for the campaign, and is obliged to go out with the party.

After returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and chorusses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

The Indians also meet occasionally for the purpose of recounting their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind of half-singing or *recitative*. The oldest warrior recites

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

726 Daniel Denton's description of the Delawares' primitive war complex is the earliest one I have found. Most of the material is derived from later sources. It may be assumed that the customs of war in these later periods were largely derived from, or were elaborations upon, the earlier primitive war complex. Denton said of their warfare:

> In their wars they fight no pitcht fields; but when they have notice of an enemies approach, they endeavour to secure their wives and children upon some Island, or in some thick swamp, & then with their guns & hatchet they waylay their enemies, some lying behind one, some another & it is a great fight where seven or eight is slain.[173]

721 Warriors were recruited at a dance, those wishing to join the war party taking part in the dance:

> When those invited have assembled at the appointed place, one of the war chiefs holding the great belt in his hands, which is now covered with vermilion, rises and dances the war dance around the circle formed by the warriors. The council thus opened he explains to them the circumstances which occasion the meeting and with all his eloquence enforces the necessity of resorting to war for a redress of their injuries. He then repeats the dance and seats himself, when each one who chooses to declare his intention to join the party takes the belt and dances around the circle as his chief had done.[174]

This dance was repeated at the war party's first camp, the women having followed the expedition.[175] Trowbridge stated that cooks were taken along and added:

> Formerly no man joined a war party until he was twenty four winters old, as they were thought to be too imprudent at an earlier age; but of late years this custom has not obtained among them. The aged often continue to bear arms so long as their strength permits, and some have been known to join warparties when from their advanced age they were obligated to ride on horseback; but in these cases they did not approach the field of battle.[176]

723 The bow and arrow constituted the principal weapon; shields of elkhide or bark and helmets constructed of sticks were used.[176] War parties may have worn special regalia; Holm said that they wore red turkey [illegible]s when going to war.[177]

725 War parties even when directed at Europeans were small in size. With perhaps a few exceptions, their size never exceeded two dozen men. This was in keeping with their military tactics in that a successful war party consisted of a rapid raid without loss and the capture of prisoners or plunder. A big battle was considered to have occurred if ten or eleven warriors were killed.[178] The taking of scalps was mentioned in the seventeenth century,[179] and prisoners were taken:

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[173] Denton, 1845, p. 8; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[174] Trowbridge MS.
[175] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 210.
[176] Trowbridge MS.
[177] Johnson, 1917, pp. 281-82; Holm, 1834, p. 138; Lindestrom, 1925, p. 197; Lookisel, 1794, p. 141.
[178] Holm, 1834, p. 137.
[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38; Van der Donck, 1909, pp. 300-301.
[180] Holm, p. 138.

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

426 If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends,
672 who must pay and rarely refuse to do so. Occasionally, the debts of friends must be paid years after they were contracted, even after the death of the debtor, if only the debt can be proven.

685 A purchaser, dissatisfied with what he has bought or the price paid, is allowed to return what he has purchased and recover what was paid. One who has done an injury, killed a hog or chicken or occasioned loss in some other way, and obstinately refuses to make good the injury, cannot be touched. His friends may make good the loss. Should the offender, in the long run, not heed the admonitions of his friends, they will drive him away.

721 Hence, it is that in wars with whites practically all the tribes have been involved more or less. If the nation, as such, has taken no part in the war, these unmanageable offenders have gone with the fighting peoples, despite the warnings and threats of the chiefs. The same is true of the present conflict.[224] The Delaware chiefs had determined at its beginning to remain neutral, daily admonishing their people not to allow themselves to be persuaded to go into the war. The nation as such remained true to the determination of the chiefs, being constantly and earnestly watched, but obstinate offenders took part against all order and command.

619 Though the Indians are a free people and not subject to the rule of any one, each nation, considering itself a unit, has a kind of government of its own choosing, imperfect as it may be. This holds good of all the North American nations. A nation is constituted of three principal Tribes, the first or leading tribe is called *Packoango*, i. e., the tribe of the great Tortoise, the second, *Blem*, the Turkey Tribe, the third, *Ptucksit*, the Wolf
622 Tribe. Each of the tribes has its chief and each chief his coun-
623 sellors. The chief of the Tortoise Tribe is the first in rank and, together with the other two chiefs, deals with all matters of national interest, particularly, such as have reference to nations with whom, according to treaty, friendly relations are to be cultivated. A chief may not presume to rule over the people, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe, and his counsellors would refuse to assist him. He must

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

and waters flow. In this connection, nations who make the treaty, or are allies, exchange a pipe between them which is called the pipe of peace. Such a pipe is carefully preserved and generally lighted in council by a captain or chief, whenever anything occurs relating to the ally and each member smokes a little out of it. The one who carries about the pipe reminds the members of the council of the covenant and the time of its establishment. The head of the pipe is commonly of stone, the stem of wood wound with a fine ribbon neatly decorated with white corals, the latter the work of the women.

It is the duty of the chief to maintain peace, to advise peace as long as possible. It is not in his power to begin war as long as the captains are averse to this. Without their consent he may not accept a war belt. If it is received this is on condition that he will turn it over to the captains for consideration. The chief must endeavor to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. If the captains are unanimous in declaring war he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people for the time being into their hands, for they are the warriors.

In the matter of choice of a chief various things are to be observed. The principal captain may choose a chief and inaugurate him, and it is also in his power to take him out of office if the chief proves a poor regent, acts contrary to the customs, does according to his own wishes and refuses to accept counsel. The captains, who always have the people on their side may thus forsake a chief, not only refusing to support him but even publicly announcing that they do not agree with him, and thus his power is at an end. The chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides. The sons of a chief cannot inherit their father's dignity, for the reason that they are not and cannot be, according to established usages, members of the tribe, inasmuch as children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother.[103] No Indian will marry a person in his own tribe, as he is too closely related to all in it. Herein, the Indians allege, is to be found the reason for the existence of the tribes. Were it not for these, they could not be quite sure whether persons to be married are near relatives or not. Hence, it is, also, that children are considered the property of the wife.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

624 a man he must secure a prisoner in his place. Should he lose more than one, responsibility weighs the more heavily upon him, and in default of showing an equal number of prisoners, his authority is at an end and he dare not think of continuing in the office. If an Indian loses his son, or one of his near relatives in war, whom he has highly valued, he gives a belt of wampum to a captain and desires him to go and take a prisoner to supply the place of the deceased. He takes his company into the enemy's country, and if he is fortunate in his exploit, immediately hangs the belt around the prisoner's neck to denote that he shall be received into a family and that his life is safe. Upon delivering the prisoner to his employer, the captain receives the belt as a reward, and the prisoner is adopted by the family as a son or near relative. But if he is unsuccessful or has been so unfortunate as to lose a man, the captain's standing is destroyed and he is disgraced. It depends, therefore, in large degree upon good fortune whether a man becomes or remains captain. There are never very many captains in one tribe, but always some.

Although a chief is not supposed to have much to do with war, his influence tends greatly either to prevent or encourage the commencement of a war, for the Indians believe that a war cannot be successful without the consent of the chief, and the captains endeavor on that account to live in harmony with him. It is not a light matter for the Indians to begin a war, as it might be among the Europeans, for a war having been begun it is not easy to bring it to an end nor to be reconciled to the enemies. The chief reason for this is that a certain number are killed on both sides and these, according to ancient custom, must be replaced by prisoners. War with the whites is a different matter, for the Indians usually secure more than enough of scalps and prisoners to make up their losses, and they may sue for peace at any time even while continuing hostilities. But with the nations of their own color they cannot do this, for they know that they will be punished by enemies who will avenge themselves in the cruelest manner.

701 The warriors consist of the young men, among whom, however, are those of fifty years and over. The warriors are under

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

order that at home they may have nothing but good to report. 574
As hospitality is generally practiced, strangers are everywhere well received and suffer no want, even though they may remain for days, or weeks or months. It is recognized as a duty to care for the wants of a guest as long as he may choose to remain and even to give him provisions for the journey when he does make up his mind to go.

On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is 648
engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for 535
some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

The War Dance is very wild and dreadful to behold. One 721
dancer carries his hatchet, another a long knife, another a large 535
club, a fourth a cudgel. These they brandish in the air, to signify how they intend to treat or have treated their enemies, affecting all the while an air of anger and fury. The Mingoes use the war dance even in times of peace with a view to celebrate their heroic deeds.

They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created 829
of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer or other animal, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal had adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans. They recognize that the Europeans are industrious and clever, that without oppor-

the Lenape in dealings with other tribes and was entrusted with the protection of the tribal bag of records or mementoes. Interestingly enough, succession to this post was only partially hereditary, being the result of selection by the chiefs of the other two divisions from within a certain prescribed range of the male relatives of the old chief. Any chief might be deposed for improper or incompetent handling of affairs (Ruttenber, pp. 47-48; Harrington, 1913, p. 211; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 107-11; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 93-95). 622

Use of pictographic symbols and colored wampum to express meaning were two methods by which the chief could communicate with the bands in tangible form [11] (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 109 and 130-31). One author also credits them with a special language used only in wartime to prevent their enemies from understanding their communications (Lindstrom, p. 204). 512 198

War

The powers of civil government were suspended in time of war and direction fell into the hands of the "captains", as they were usually called by the old writers. Little was written of Lenape customs in warfare during the early colonial period when most of the Delaware wars were against other tribes and seldom against the white settlers. The following section based on eighteenth century material is inserted th give a more complete picture of Delaware life rather than for comparative purposes. 721 648

The position of captain was achieved through leading several successful missions against enemy forces; that is, missions in which greater amounts of goods, prisoners and scalps were brought back than were lost. Most frequently, boys who aimed at the achievement of this status did so as the result of an adolescent vision. Those who succeeded were usually those who had had such a vision, which is not surprising as they would be likely to be fortified with greater assurance and more assiduous training (Ziesberger, 1910, p. 101; Loskiel, p. 142). 726

A chief could not declare war without the unanimous consent of his warrior chiefs; if they were unanimous in favoring war, he could not refuse to "accept the hatchet" (Loskiel, p. 144; Ruttenber, p. 48; Ziesberger, 1910, p. 98). Peace, on the other hand, could only be made effective by the chief whose decision in this matter had to be accepted by the warriors. 721

War, according to a partisan of the Delawares, was declared as a result of other tribes hunting in their territory, murder of a member of their tribe by an outsider, or robbery from a Delaware camp (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 175). Add to these causes the desire to confiscate property of other tribes for glory, and the list would be more complete (Loskiel, p.143).

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	+ = element present − = element denied (+) or (−) = source ambiguous • = informant could not or would not say s = some, sometimes, or several † or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information									1721 1722 1726 1728			
357.	Average height						•	•		5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358.	All have high cheek bones						−		+	+		−	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued													
359.	Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						*+		+	+	+		+
360.	General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents													
361.	Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			*(+)		+	+	+	+	*+	+	•
362.	Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	
363.	Preceded by demand for redress					+	s	+	•	+		+	
364.	Notice of war given					−	−	−		+		*+	
365.	Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366.	War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367.	Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368.	Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	−		−	
369.	Commander appointed by civil chiefs						−	+	+	+		+	
370.	Commander volunteers						+	−	−	−		−	
371.	Inferior officers appointed by commander						−	+	+	+		+	
372.	Inferior officers volunteer						+	−	•	−		−	
373.	Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374.	Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375.	Feast				*+			*+	*+	*+		+	
376.	Dance				+	+		+	+	−		+	
377.	Civil chief cautions party				+			+		+			
378.	Subdivisions of forces on march	+				s	−	+		+		+	
379.	Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	−	+	
380.	Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381.	March in single file				+	s	+	*+	•	(+)	*−	*−	
382.	Encampment arranged East and West						+	*+	+	*−		*−	
383.	Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	−	•	•	•	
384.	Guns stacked against poles						+	+	*+	•	•	•	
385.	Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fourth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

526 177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

533 [796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

JOHN JOHNSTON said [height] same as whites. CAPTAIN PIPE 141 said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

JOHN JOHNSTON—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142 whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

WAR AND ITS INCIDENTS

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

ZEISBERGER said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [172] life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

375. Feast

721 ZEISBERGER reported the feast preceding a war party to be of a hog.

CAPTAIN PIPE said it was a bear that was eaten.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS said a bear was eaten if available, otherwise a buck.

J. W. said that the feast was preceded by a fast.

381. March in single file

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—They march in single file so long as they suppose themselves out of danger, but when by their spies they learn that caution is necessary, they separate into smaller bodies and form a solid one, as circumstances and the plan of attack render necessary.

W. T. and E. R. both said that war leader went first and the rest followed "in a herd."

382. Encampment arranged in east-west direction

CAPTAIN PIPE—When the party encamp they cut two long poles which they fasten to stakes at the distance of three or four feet from the ground, on opposite sides. In the centre between these poles two stakes are fastened in the earth from which their cooking kettle is suspended. On each side of the fire the warriors repose themselves having their weapons at their heads, resting against the poles. The leader places himself at the eastern end of this open encampment, the sides of which are generally made to run east and west; and notwithstanding the ease with which a warrior can creep out at the sides, he is compelled by custom to rise and walk in the line between the feet of his companions and go out at the end. Nor is any person permitted to go under the cooking poles in crossing from one side to the other. In the morning they leave the encampment without eating, following the chief, who goes out at the eastern end of the lodge singing his war song as they march.

J. W. and E. R. said war encampments were arranged in a circle.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 787 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 CAPTAIN PIPE—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 ROGER WILLIAMS said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

PEACE

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

CAPTAIN PIPE in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast.

721 728

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from Shawnee. 526

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which rushes were used instead of cards. 525

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the most ground in three hops. 524

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 781 526

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ka, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs. 535

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lĕñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed. [796]

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. Buffalo dance

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. War dance

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins. 721 ● 535

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 CAPTAIN CHIPPS described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 CAPTAIN CHIPPS in treating of war said that women were al-
562 lowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out
535 on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of HECKEWELDER: After [127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721 562 535

463. Dance in circle

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

154 rein these are the more violent."[51] Warfare
● [721] provided a socially approved way of bleeding off some of these aggressions, for the warriors; and the institution of torture
154 gave the rest of the community a similar
727 opportunity. "The Indians flock to these executions as to some great solemnity, with a view to reeking on the unfortunate captive their cruel and revengeful dis-
154 position."[52] The institution of blood-
627 revenge[53] (which sometimes led to prolonged vendetta) was also an outlet for aggression; but the fear of its exercise no doubt served also to inhibit it. In
154 hunting, males could work off aggression
224 on animals, which were conceptualized as quasi-human. It is worth noting that among women, who had a more restricted
154 childhood and who at the same time had
521 fewer socially sanctioned outlets for aggression, the overflow dribbled off in
562 unpleasant gossip and slander, which the men, who had other means of catharsis, professed to scorn.[54]

154 All observers agreed that liquor dis-
273 solved the inhibitions against aggression. "The effects which intoxication produces
578 upon the Indians are dreadful," lamented Heckewelder. "It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, besides biting off noses and otherwise disfiguring each other, which are the least consequences of the quarrels which inebriation produces between them."[55] As might be expected, therefore, Indian spokesmen frequently—and in vain—implored the whites to cease bringing liquor into their settlements.

Summary

127 From an examination of the early ethnological literature concerning the Delaware Indians, we have been able to discover some of their psychological
855 characteristics. The Delawares would seem in general to have been a people among whom the children grew up

51. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 124-125.
52. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 106-107.
53. Penn, 1683.
54. Zeisberger, 1776, p. 116.
55. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 127 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He [824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell [821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they